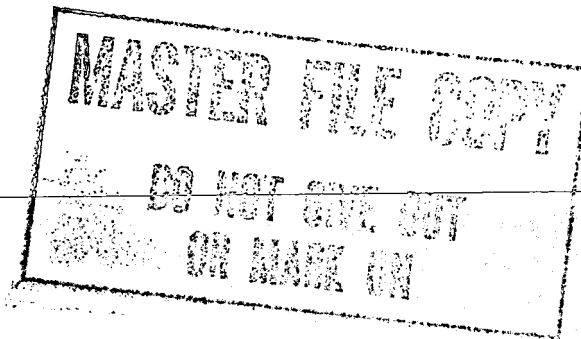




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West Berlin: Linchpin of the Alliance

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An Intelligence Memorandum

State Dept. review completed

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EUR 82-10052
June 1982

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West Berlin: Linchpin of the Alliance

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An Intelligence Memorandum

*Information available as of 15 May 1982
has been used in the preparation of this report.*

This memorandum was prepared by [redacted]
[redacted] of the Office of European Analysis. It was
coordinated with the Operations Directorate.
Comments and queries are welcome and may be
addressed to the Chief, Western Europe Division,
EUR, [redacted]

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**West Berlin:
Linchpin of the Alliance**

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Summary

The nature of the Berlin problem has not changed in the past decade. Berlin was initially—and remains potentially—the most important point of East-West confrontation. Miniconfrontations still occur in the city, although they rarely attract public notice, and the United States is still the only Western power that can cope effectively with Soviet political threats.

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- The Quadripartite Agreement (QA), in force for a decade, has resulted in a lower level of confrontation over Berlin. Accomplishments resting on the QA are welcomed by the Berliners, who remain skeptical about Soviet and East German motives.

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- The Soviet challenge to the Berlin order has focused mainly on West Berlin's links to West Germany. The city's ties to the West were expanded despite strong Soviet representation after 1971, but Bonn, reacting to the Soviet complaints, backed away from further challenges to the Soviets after 1978. East-West relations in Berlin have been relatively calm in recent years.

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- The Soviets are reluctant to alter their current policy of avoiding frictions with the West in Berlin. Growing political instability in Eastern Europe, however, could cause Moscow to revert to a militant, anti-Western policy that would include pressures on West Berlin. Even so, the Soviets would still probably refrain from challenging the US presence in Berlin directly.

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- By defending German national interests in Berlin, the Western Allies continue to demonstrate to Bonn and the German public the merit of the Alliance. This preserves the community of interest that underlies West Germany's participation in the defense of Western Europe. West Berlin thus is a linchpin of the Alliance.

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- The other powers engaged in Berlin have not significantly altered their approach to the problem during the first decade of the QA. The United Kingdom and France remain satisfied to be involved with the superpowers on equal terms and appreciate the influence their Berlin roles give them in Bonn. East Germany is the state least sympathetic to the era of lessened confrontation.

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- High-level US visits to West Berlin highlight our essential contribution to the protection of the city and show that the United States has not forgotten its responsibility for Germany as a whole. Because the Soviets understand this, they cooperate officially with such public events so as not to dramatize the need for US protection. [REDACTED]
- The Social Democrats, who had long dominated the politics of West Berlin, were ousted last year by the Christian Democrats under Richard von Weizsaecker. His government has performed effectively. It promises to revitalize the city and make an SPD return to power difficult. Von Weizsaecker will be able to cooperate easily with the United States and with the *Ostpolitik* of the Schmidt government. [REDACTED]
- Social problems have replaced East-West confrontations as the main challenge facing West Berliners. West Berlin seems to be accommodating the counterculture of its many young radicals, but it is only beginning to grope with the problem of a large and growing foreign population at a time when the native population is aging and diminishing. [REDACTED]
- Negative economic trends, especially the loss of population and industrial jobs, continue to plague the city. Although federal subsidies enabled it in recent years practically to match West Germany in economic growth, the outlook for 1982 is poor. [REDACTED]

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**West Berlin:
Linchpin of the Alliance**

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International***Origins of US Role***

Confrontation between the United States and the USSR after World War II soon focused on Berlin. Disputes among the victors over policy toward defeated Germany led in 1948 to a Soviet attempt to blockade the city, which was countered by the US-led airlift to Berlin. Of the Western nations engaged there, only the United States had the power to offset and thus to resist effectively Soviet pressures on the city. This is still the case.

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Despite differences among the Western Allies and fears in Western Europe that the United States might refuse involvement in the European power game, Soviet pressure and US initiatives in the early postwar years gradually led the Western powers to close ranks behind US leadership in defense of what developed into the Western—including German—position in Berlin. This coalescence gave an important impulse to the formation in 1949 of the NATO Alliance.

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The US commitment to defend Berlin was shared by France and the United Kingdom, and an emerging unity of purpose in the early 1950s between the infant West German state and NATO contributed significantly to Bonn's decision in 1955 to accept a military role in the defense of Western Europe. NATO in return associated itself with the Three Power determination to maintain the security and welfare of Berlin.

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The power balance around Berlin was again tested during the Soviet challenge of 1958 that led to the Berlin Wall (1961) and ended, in effect, with the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.¹ Once more Berlin was the focal point of world interest and the essential role of the United States as protector and Alliance leader was spotlighted.

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After the Cuban crisis came a period of rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union. While the focus of US interest shifted to Southeast Asia, Soviet policy continued to seek full separation of West Berlin from West Germany. This caused recurring tensions in Berlin until

¹ The "Khrushchev ultimatum" of November 1958 informed the Western Allies that the USSR intended to transfer all its functions and responsibilities connected with Berlin to the government of East Germany. This set off years of military bluff and political struggle over Berlin. While the West concentrated on protecting its position, the East Germans with Soviet backing built the Berlin Wall and thus stanching the flow of refugees to the West that had threatened the viability of the East German state.

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March 1969, when the East Germans strongly urged Moscow to prevent a meeting in West Berlin of an assembly to elect Bonn's federal president. The Soviets resisted this pressure, and the crisis was defused when Moscow, on the day before the presidential vote, announced that bloody encounters with Chinese troops had occurred along the Ussuri River. Former Chinese Vice Premier Chou En Lai later asserted that Moscow had provoked the Ussuri clashes in order to cover its backdown in Berlin.

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Berlin and Ostpolitik

In October 1969, the newly installed Bonn government of former Governing Mayor of Berlin Willy Brandt declared its readiness to recognize East Germany as a separate state, thus initiating the accelerated *Ostpolitik* so widely identified with detente. By recognizing East Germany and guaranteeing not to contest its eastern border (the Oder-Neisse line) in an eventual German peace settlement, West Germany accepted the Soviet position on the boundaries of postwar Europe. In return, Moscow arranged for East Germany to relax some of the travel and communication restrictions that it had imposed during 20 years of struggle to stabilize the East German state. Without this improved access to their fellow Germans, the West German voters would not have accepted *Ostpolitik*.

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The West Berliners, exposed frequently to East German harassment because they are the main users of the transit lines to West Germany and excluded from East Berlin and East Germany after the Wall was built in 1961, became the main beneficiaries of the relaxation of restrictions on travel and communications. The East German Government again admitted West Berliners to its territory and contracted to facilitate the transit traffic between West Berlin and West Germany. The contracts struck were German, but they were concluded under the aegis of the Quadripartite Agreement (QA) in which the victor powers (France, the United Kingdom, the USSR, and the United States) reaffirmed their positions on Four-Power control of Berlin. The agreement took effect in 1972.

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Impact of the Quadripartite Agreement

The QA did not dispel the threat to West Berlin. It did perform the feat of combining the conflicting views of East and West in a document acceptable to both. As a result, clashes over uncoded issues became a contest of QA interpretations, and this has helped to keep disputes on a low level of confrontation. The media lost interest in Berlin as confrontations between tanks were replaced by tedious arguments among lawyers.

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Although West Berliners welcomed the increased opportunity to visit and telephone relatives and friends in East Germany and the improvements in transit traffic to and from West Berlin, opinion polls and editorial

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Section of the Wall on Bernauer Strasse (French Sector) looking toward the Soviet Sector in central Berlin.



National Geographic ©

comments reveal that they remain skeptical about the ultimate achievements of the *Ostpolitik*. The still aggressive and insecure character of the East German regime is a more immediate problem when viewed from West Berlin than from farther away. Revocations by that regime of the “humanitarian alleviations”—for example, its imposition in 1980 of a steep increase in the currency exchange requirement for visitors—put a great burden on West Berliners. And the Eastern disposition to contest West Berlin’s ties to West Germany are a continuing threat.

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Continuing Soviet Pressures

Soviet defense of East German actions against Allied military patrols since the QA has made clear that Moscow still rejects the claim of the Western Allies, as occupiers of Berlin, to unimpeded access to East Berlin. Serious harassment of American, British, and French patrols in the eastern part of the city occurred in 1977. A firm and unified Western response moved the Soviets to abandon this pressure and, instead, to increase the frequency of their military patrols in West Berlin. With Soviet approval, acknowledged

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to US officials, East German controllers are currently harassing selected holders of US diplomatic passports—sometimes delaying their passage for more than an hour—when they seek to cross into West Berlin at Checkpoint Charlie, the international crossing point. [REDACTED]

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In September 1981, the Soviets attempted to use helicopters to block the landing paths to airports in West Berlin for a hijacked Polish airliner. This unprecedented breach of Berlin flight rules brought strong protests from the Western Allies. Although the Soviets continue to insist that such landings, if not opposed, encourage international terrorism, they did not repeat the blocking operation when Polish aircraft were diverted to West Berlin in February and April. [REDACTED]

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Pressures have been exerted also on the access routes to West Berlin. The Soviets at times allowed the East Germans to tighten transit procedures on grounds that West Germans were misusing the transit routes for political purposes—for example, by sending busloads of youths to West Berlin to join demonstrations against the Wall. In such incidents, each side alleged the other had violated the transit agreement concluded under the QA. [REDACTED]

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The main focus of Soviet pressure, however, has been West Berlin's ties to West Germany. These, according to the QA passage favored by the West, are to be "maintained and developed." Bonn initially set out to develop these ties, misjudging the depth of Moscow's objection to any expansion of the official West German presence in West Berlin or to any new European Community links with the city. Citing their version of another QA clause—that West Berlin is not a part of West Germany and is not governed by it—the Soviets used threats, protests, and propaganda to resist West German efforts to enhance ties to West Berlin.² The sojourns in West Berlin of political representatives from Bonn and of foreign leaders on official visits to West Germany continue to draw Soviet protests. [REDACTED]

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Despite Soviet objections, new links between West Berlin and the West have been established. West Berlin's inclusion in the first elected European Parliament drew the loudest Soviet protests and threats, but the backing of the Western Allies was firm and the Soviets quieted down after the election. A branch of the EC patent office was opened in West Berlin, and a new office of the West German Interior Ministry, the Environmental Protection Office (EPO), was established there in the mid-1970s, but only after serious international friction. [REDACTED]

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² In their protests, the Soviets distort QA meaning on Bonn–West Berlin ties, interpreting what the Western Allies regard as a statement of continuing exclusion from full integration with the West German Government as a prohibition of any ties whatsoever. [REDACTED]

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US military vehicles patrol
where the US Sector is separat-
ed from the Soviet Sector by
the Spree River.



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The dispute over the EPO arose because Bonn, perhaps testing (we speculate) the extent to which the QA authorized expansion of its links to West Berlin, announced—without coordinating with the Western Allies or previously informing the Soviets—that the office would be located there. The Soviets bitterly resisted, but the EPO was nevertheless opened when the Western Allies, after settling their quarrel with Bonn over failure to consult, affirmed that their interpretation of the QA supported the West German action. Moscow has continued to object whenever an environmentalist from the West Berlin office shows up at an international conference.

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The struggle over the EPO led to modifications in West Germany's policy toward Berlin that became apparent during the late 1970s. The Bonn government, once it became aware of Soviet determination to contest its links with West Berlin and thus of its need for Western Allied support, expanded its consultation with the Allies on Berlin and all-German matters. Bonn backed away gradually from marked increases in its official presence in West Berlin and, except for the unavoidable dispute over West Berlin's role in the European Parliament, there have been no serious confrontations of this type since the Brezhnev visit to Bonn in 1978.

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How Other Engaged Powers See Berlin

Aside from the United States, there are five powers engaged in the Berlin problem: the USSR, the United Kingdom, France, and West and East Germany. The record of their actions, private consultations, and public statements since the QA went into force has made clear that their attitudes on Berlin have not changed significantly during this period. [redacted]

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West Germany

Bonn recognizes that the QA has not resolved basic political differences, but it emphasizes the practical improvements the QA has permitted, including expansion of West Berlin's ties to West Germany. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted] To minimize pressure, the Bonn government avoids expanding its offices in West Berlin because such expansion was the focus of the most determined Soviet protests. To contend more effectively with Soviet pressures, West Germany, since the EPO dispute, has expanded its cooperation with the Allies on Berlin policy. [redacted]

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United Kingdom

Berlin continues to offer the United Kingdom a "place at the high table" of world affairs and a lever to influence Bonn's policy in all areas. British governments have long displayed anxiety, however, over the risks of the power confrontation in Berlin; London thus speaks warmly of the QA's accomplishments. Quick to suspect Bonn of provocative actions in Berlin, Britain remains in consultations on Berlin the ally most anxious to avoid difficulties with the Soviets, but it is nevertheless sensitive to West Germany's political equity there. [redacted]

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France

French officials attach special importance to France's share of supreme authority in Berlin. Paris's role there affords it a unique opportunity to deal with the United States and the USSR on equal footing, allows it to maintain the distinction between wartime victor and loser, and enables it to influence West Germany more than its power might otherwise permit. France stands ready to take a hard line with the Soviets, especially where Allied rights and responsibilities on such issues as transit are concerned, and does not shrink from lecturing Bonn on its limits in Berlin. [redacted]

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Soviet Union

The Soviets appear to prefer the miniconfrontations of the QA era to the grander Berlin crises of yesteryear, but they still must cope with persistent demands from East Germany for greater sovereignty and its opposition to any increase of Bonn's role in West Berlin. East Berlin objected to West Germany's expansion of ties to West Berlin during the 1970s, and the sharp Soviet protests make clear that Moscow felt the heat. There were

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hints [] that Soviet Ambassador Yefremov, who was transferred to Vienna in 1975, had to leave East Berlin because he was perceived to be a poor enforcer of Eastern QA interpretations. He was replaced by his predecessor in East Berlin, Pyotr Abrasimov, a negotiator of the QA, whose thunder and expertise failed to keep West Berlin out of the European Parliament. We believe the Soviets have concluded that the vehemence of their complaints in this period did, however, induce Bonn to forgo putting additional West German offices in West Berlin. They seem to calculate that the ensuing absence of dispute over Berlin assists their efforts to argue for detente and to distract Bonn from its Alliance engagements. At present, therefore, Moscow almost certainly wants calm in Berlin. []

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East Germany

West Berlin remains a bone in the throat of East Germany, the power most dissatisfied with the QA. The time of political freebooting before the agreement was instituted offered the East Berlin regime more advantages than does the QA regimen, with its flood of West German visitors and communications, its denial of the powers of sovereignty (such as the ability to harass transit traffic to West Berlin), and its ban on longstanding East German political claims (for example, that West Berlin is East German territory). From the East German perspective, it must often appear that detente is a game the Soviets play with West Germany at East Germany's expense. []

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Beginning in 1979, with public Soviet approval, actions by East Germany started to reverse the liberalization introduced during the detente era. The large increase in the currency exchange levy on visitors to East Germany imposed in October 1980 sharply reduced the flow of West German visitors. This trend away from the cordial relations that are supposed to characterize detente, it is generally believed, reflects the regime's insecurity about its internal problems rather than Soviet inspiration, and it probably would have advanced further had it not been curbed by the need to accommodate to overall Soviet policy. []

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West Berlin Politics

Social Problems

In the 1960s West Berlin became a center of youthful German radicalism and antiestablishment activity. The city attracts young West Germans who seek to avoid conscription, and they provide material for street demonstrations and radical movements at West Berlin universities. Problems of public order resulting from this antiestablishment ferment received attention throughout West Germany, in part because West Berlin was the scene of early terrorist actions. During the 1970s, the radicals grew tamer and the terrorists chose West Germany instead of West Berlin as their main

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battleground. Radicalism at West Berlin universities receded. But the army of activists never fully disbanded and in the 1980-81 disorders provided recruits for the squatter movement. Many young dropouts joined cooperatives that encouraged alternative lifestyles and stressed crafts and environmentalism. In the election of May 1981 an Alternative List of young reformers won 7.2 percent of the vote and 9 seats in the city assembly. [REDACTED]

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The toughest social and political challenge facing West Berlin in the 1980s is the surge of foreign residents. In 1970, unskilled foreign workers and their families, who immigrated to West Berlin in the 1950s and 1960s, totaled about 100,000, less than 5 percent of the city's population. Although recruitment of foreign workers essentially stopped in 1973, their number has grown to 230,000, 12 percent of West Berlin's population today. Of these, 140,000 are Turks, considered the "guest workers" least able to assimilate German culture. The increase comprises mainly relatives of established "guest workers" and persons taking advantage of West Germany's liberal asylum law. [REDACTED]

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Unemployment and the increase of foreigners in a population that is aging and declining as a whole have stimulated antiforeign feelings. Berlin's governing mayor, Richard von Weizsaecker, announced that he favors inducements for foreigners to return home and believes those who remain should become German citizens. US officials familiar with the problem believe few "guest workers" would opt for either course. The problem is more intractable than it might be otherwise because the Germans resist the notion of their society's becoming a melting pot. [REDACTED]

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West Berlin, a city famous for experiments, probably will produce further sensations and occasional disorders, although it has by and large managed to incorporate the young radicals and reformers. Their counterculture is tolerated and is represented in the city assembly. Their potential for popular support is limited, however, because Berlin's citizens are hard-nosed, skeptical of utopians and pacifists, and profoundly pro-West. The media in West Berlin are predominantly conservative. [REDACTED]

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But the city is only beginning to grapple with the problem of a sizable foreign population, and this issue will be the main test of the von Weizsaecker administration. Its attempt in 1981 to restrain immigration of relatives of West Berlin residents, although probably meeting with the approval of native Berliners, caused much uncertainty among the foreign community, especially the Turks. [REDACTED]

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Economic Problems

Loss of population, loss of industrial jobs, and lack of investment have long restricted growth of the West Berlin economy. The city's postwar isolation and loss of importance to the German community make it difficult for business and industry to recruit and hold top executive leadership. Careers in the isolated city are less challenging now than when embattled Berlin was a center of world interest. [REDACTED]

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Economic decline is resisted through a variety of programs, such as intense promotion of tourism, federal subsidies, and special tax breaks designed to stimulate business and industry. Despite improvements in access to the city since the signing of the QA, the negative political factors—continued East German and Soviet challenges to West Berlin's link to the West and dwindling emphasis on the city's role as a future capital of Germany—helped to assure that the adverse long-range trends continued during the past decade. [REDACTED]

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But these trends were not sharp and are partly attributable to the recessions of the seventies in West Germany, which takes 70 percent of West Berlin's industrial production. Aided by gradual expansion of the federal subsidy, per capita output in West Berlin grew at a 3.3-percent annual rate during the period 1970-81, only marginally less than the rate in West Germany. [REDACTED]

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With West Germany experiencing a prolonged slump, West Berlin's economy stagnated in 1981. Seasonally adjusted unemployment rose to the highest level since the early 1950s. Continuing high interest rates, reduced government spending, and weak domestic demand make the prospects for West Berlin in 1982 dim, and a further rise in unemployment seems certain. [REDACTED]

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Decline of the Social Democrats

When the Berlin of detente ceased to attract world interest, the city had already entered a decline of political leadership. Coincidentally, the new focus on West Berlin's youthful demonstrators, on the large foreign community, and on what seemed to many Berliners creeping provincialism tended to offset for many residents the improvements in travel and communication gained through the QA. [REDACTED]

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By the end of the decade, the squatter movement protesting Germany's urban housing shortage was firmly established in downtown West Berlin. Its activists resisted eviction, clashed with police, and vandalized commercial establishments when the police tried to control them. In early 1981 the

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Richard von Weizsaecker,
Mayor of Berlin [redacted]



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issue of public order combined with a corruption scandal to topple the West Berlin government, a coalition of Social Democrats (SPD) and Free Democrats (FDP) modeled on the Schmidt government in Bonn. [redacted]

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Efforts were made to resuscitate the West Berlin social-liberal coalition. One of Schmidt's most talented cabinet members, Hans-Jochen Vogel, was brought from Bonn to provide new leadership. But time had run out on the SPD in Berlin, for generations a stronghold of the German left. Since the distinguished mayoralty of Ernst Reuter, West Berlin's leader during the blockade, the SPD had gradually fallen into the hands of mediocre leaders. The decline had already been signaled during the 1970s when the SPD, like other West Berlin parties, started to import political leaders from West Germany, thereby acknowledging the absence of homegrown successors to Reuter and Brandt. [redacted]

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The 1981 election gave a strong plurality to the Christian Democrats and ushered in a new mayor, Richard von Weizsaecker, who had come from Bonn two years earlier to lead the West Berlin CDU. [redacted]

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Rise of the CDU

Until von Weizsaecker arrived, the West Berlin CDU, like the SPD, had seemed neither intellectually nor organizationally prepared to govern the city. Its local leaders, conservatives nostalgic for the Adenauer era and profoundly skeptical of all *Ostpolitik*, seemed at most to aspire to enter the Bundestag in Bonn. They did not win control of West Berlin so much as inherit it because of SPD disarray. [redacted]

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The CDU is nevertheless in charge, its plurality in the city assembly buttressed by the votes of enough Free Democrats to win key votes. In its first year the von Weizsaecker administration has given indications that it can revitalize West Berlin. It restored a measure of public confidence in law and order while showing an ability to make practical compromises on economic issues. [REDACTED]

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Meanwhile the SPD, still the party of West Berlin's bureaucracy, continues to register poorly in opinion polls. SPD leader Vogel, who turned down a recent offer to rejoin the Schmidt cabinet, seeks to rally the party mainly by playing to the disaffected left, a tactic that seems likely to help von Weizsaecker and the CDU consolidate their power. Unless the SPD is unexpectedly rejuvenated, West Berlin will be governed for some time by the CDU. [REDACTED]

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The Governing Mayor

Von Weizsaecker is known for his intelligence and moderation and is more liberal than the CDU hierarchy in West Berlin. Widely respected in all West German parties, he was once a candidate for the federal presidency and therefore a natural choice when the West Berlin CDU needed a leader of national reputation. To complete his cabinet (*Senat*), von Weizsaecker imported other West German politicians with energy but little proven administrative ability. So far he has controlled the *Senat* tightly, and it has performed effectively. [REDACTED]

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Von Weizsaecker's talent as a political executive had not been tested before he became Governing Mayor. He is not a partisan scrapper nor a source of ideological inspiration to his party. But he is widely respected, knows what he wants, and has already demonstrated that he can run city hall. There is already speculation among West German political leaders that the CDU may need his talents in Bonn. [REDACTED]

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The conservatives in the West Berlin CDU are pleased to have von Weizsaecker at the helm, although he does not share their hardline views on *Ostpolitik*. On the contrary, he is inclined to cooperate with the Schmidt government on relations with East Germany.³ Foreign policy remains von Weizsaecker's main interest, and he has privately implied to a



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US official that he sees himself, like Brandt before him, as a man with a future beyond Berlin. A longtime friend of the United States, von Weizsaecker is an articulate defender of the Atlantic Alliance who has argued publicly that the Americans can be relied on to defend Europe "if we do not give them the impression that we are leaving the risks in the world's trouble spots entirely to them." [redacted]

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Outlook

The Governing Mayor's views assure that US interests in West Berlin will be respected by his government. Von Weizsaecker has made a point of showing appreciation for US forces in the city. His approach to *Ostpolitik*, generally positive but skeptical, will elicit understanding from the Berliners and should facilitate cooperation with the Schmidt government. To the extent that West Berlin influences events, this will minimize disputes over issues such as the West German official presence in West Berlin. [redacted]

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US interests are still served by public events, including Presidential visits, which reaffirm and highlight the essential US contribution to maintaining the existence of a free West Berlin. They are useful reminders that the power balance in Europe remains unaltered by detente and that the United States has not forgotten its responsibility for Germany as a whole or for the Central European stability so desired by the European nations. The impact of ceremonial displays of US power in West Berlin is understood by the Soviets, whose immediate concern will be to avoid the sort of East-West frictions that dramatize the need for US protection of West Berlin. [redacted]

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During almost four decades, the US presence in Berlin has become a symbol of American determination to maintain a strong position in Europe in order to guard the balance that emerged on the continent following World War II. The Soviets have not seriously challenged that position in a decade. They continue to avoid unnecessary friction in Berlin with the West and particularly with the West Germans. Moscow will be reluctant to depart from this policy, especially while the political decision on NATO's INF modernization program appears to hang in the balance. [redacted]

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Further disorder in Poland, however, could lead to political instability in other areas, including East Germany, and such unrest would probably cause the Soviets to turn to a militant anti-Western policy as one means of justifying the imposition of harsher controls to restore order. Even if the Soviets should revert to a more aggressive, anti-Western line that includes pressure on West Berlin, we believe they are unlikely to mount the sort of fundamental challenge to the US presence in Berlin that they did in the depths of the Cold War. [redacted]

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If Berlin should again become a pressure point for the Soviets, such a shift would renew popular and official appreciation for the United States as the only Ally powerful enough to cope with such Soviet tactics, and Western unity would benefit. The United States and other Western Allies, by representing all-German interests in Berlin, continue to demonstrate to Bonn and the German public the merit of the Alliance, thereby preserving the community of interest that engages West Germany in the defense of Western Europe. Berlin is thus a linchpin of the Western Alliance. Western protection of the former German capital not only reinforces West Germany's relationship to NATO but also nurtures political understanding with the Berliners, who rely on the United States more than other Europeans and who judge Bonn's efforts to improve ties to Moscow with skepticism as well as sympathy.

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